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ABSTRACT

This study explored the multiple effects of "professionalization" discourse on the creation of a new early childhood teacher certification program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The study explored two questions: How is the influence of professional ideology on the construction of the program linked to university prestige and expert knowledge? and How are professional identities represented in the text in terms of science and welfare? The work of Foucault was used to form an archaeological investigation of faculty meeting minutes and memos from the Elementary Education Area. These archival texts were examined for discursive formations without temporal relationships. In so doing, distinctions that were made about university-based teacher education, and the historical relationships through which they emerged, became more visible. The study concluded that various historical constructions governed the creation of the new program, including university prestige, expertise, psychology, and play. Seemingly apolitical, each of these constructions worked to solidify part of an apparatus of power that shapes and manages individuals and populations by formulating the terms of "normality" and "expertise." Unlike more traditional forms of governing, this type of management governs people under the auspices of being more "professional." (Author/EV)

PROFESSIONALISM AND REFORM IN TEACHING CURRICULUM: AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to explore the multiple effects of "professionalization" discourse upon the creation of a new early childhood teacher certification program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The work of Michel Foucault is utilized to form an archaeological investigation of Elementary Education Area faculty meeting minutes and memos. The archival texts are examined for discursive formations with out temporal relationships. In so doing, distinctions that were made about university-based teacher education and the historical relationships through which they emerged become more visible. The primary significance of this study is its use of a social epistemology of reform to view elements of institutional practice as historically formed patterns of power relations. Knowledge, as linked with power, is viewed as being intertwined with social practices thereby becoming accessible to social inquiry (Popkewitz). Two questions are asked in this study. First, how is the influence of professional ideology upon the construction of the program linked to university prestige and expert knowledge? Second, how are professional identities represented in the text in terms of science and welfare? The study concludes that various historical constructions governed the creation of the new program, including university prestige, expertise, psychology, and play. Seemingly apolitical, each of these constructions worked to solidify part of an apparatus of power that shapes and manages individuals and populations by formulating the terms of "normality" and "expertise." Unlike more traditional forms of governing, this type of management governs people under the auspices of being more "professional."

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1991 approximately thirty students at the University of Wisconsin-Madison enrolled in a newly created program leading to teacher certification in preschool through grade three (PK3). The new PK3 concentration was unusual for several reasons. First it reflected a national discourse about the "professionalism" of early childhood educators. Second, it emerged as a direct result of the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction's (DPI) efforts to mandate teacher education reform through altered teacher licensure requirements. Third, it allowed students to pursue early childhood certification through either the School of Family Resources and Consumer Sciences (FRCS) or the School of Education (SOE).

The purpose of this paper is to explore the multiple effects of "professionalization" discourse during a ten year span of time leading up to the construction of the PK3 teacher education program. Using archival data consisting of Elementary Education Area (EEA) faculty meeting minutes and memos, a Foucauldian archaeological investigation is utilized to examine discursive formations without temporal relationships. In so doing, distinctions that were made about university-based teacher education and the historical relationships through which they emerged become more visible. Two questions were asked in this study. First, how is the influence of professional ideology upon the construction of the program linked to university prestige and expert knowledge? Second, how are professional identities represented in the text in terms of science and welfare?

My interest in the professionalization of early childhood education revolves around how a program or course of study at a university is defined and classified. Specifically, I am interested in the distinctions that are made about teacher education and the internal relations through which they emerge. I am also interested in how the creation of the PK3 program relates to the larger political, economic and social culture of the university. This becomes particularly important due to UW-Madison's role as a prestigious, research-driven campus. To enable such an examination, I will use a social epistemology of education reform as a method of social inquiry. A social epistemology of educational reform views elements of institutional practice as historically formed patterns of power relations. Knowledge, as linked with power, is intertwined with social practices and becomes accessible to social inquiry (Popkewitz, 1991). This technique will allow a more in-depth analysis of how knowledge about the program is constructed within the social and political arena of the university.

The primary significance of this study lies in its use of interpretive social inquiry to examine teacher education reform. A new range of questions are asked that differ from "traditional" educational inquiry. Archival text is analyzed as a form of discourse to help expose the power dynamics and complexities of teacher education reform in a large research-oriented

university. The archival texts chosen for this study consist of EEA faculty meeting minutes, memos and informational handouts periodically catalogued in notebooks and filed in a department office. Throughout this paper I will use the broader term "texts" to refer to these records.

The first section of this paper will present a framework for analyzing history and historical texts as a form of discourse. The second section will discuss specific points related to "professionalization" and early childhood education as historic and contemporary issues. This will foreshadow the textual analysis and guiding questions, which completes the third section. The final section will review the findings and summarize the results.

HISTORY AS TEXTUAL ARCHAEOLOGY

One of the fundamental aspects of this project was determining how to study the history of a university program that was influenced by the ideology of professionalization. Indeed, the very idea of writing or reading 'history' is not without debate. In the past half century, there has been an increased focus on history's relationship with sociology, psychology, and semiotics — particularly within the study of history and the philosophy of science (Hunt, 1986; Hunt, 1989). The historian, in interpreting the past, necessarily takes an active role in recreating the reality he or she sees there. Interpretive historical neutrality, while seductive, remains a chimera.

History is often thought of as a study remote from the present. In *Debates With Historians*, Pieter Geyl writes "history is an active force in the struggles of every generation and the historian by his interpretation of the past, consciously or half-consciously or even unconsciously, takes his part in them, for good or for evil (Geyl, 1958, p. 264). History is not inevitably useful and the historian cannot choose to remain neutral. Howard Zinn compares history to a jungle and states "The only thing I am really sure of is that we who plunge into the jungle need to think about what we are doing, because there *is* somewhere we want to go" (Zinn, 1985). The study of any historical episode, therefore, involves more than the chronologicalization of "facts." It involves the perceptions of the researcher through their interpretation of the subject matter. The idea that historical study is more than the documentation of individual political acts has been taken up by various theorists. Nowhere has this idea been more thoroughly explored than in France, where the disciplines of epistemology, history and the philosophy of science have been areas of continual philosophic debate for the past fifty years (Lemert, 1981).[1]

The archival data chosen for this examination consisted of EEA faculty meeting minutes and memos. It is important to recognize that these texts were not seen as a complete representation of the events that happened in the department. In using them I was not trying to recreate or piece together a specific chronology of events that happened, but rather I used them as a "window" on the action. The choice of texts may, at first glance, appear limited in scope. Other records of events are available and could have been used in this study. However, my decision to limit the

data to EEA faculty meeting minutes, departmental memos and informational handouts does not equate a limitation in analysis. It is the intent of this study to demonstrate how the historically formed rules and patterns of regulation apparent in the text helped to form an apparatus of power which embodied principles for action within the university. The texts under examination represent the "everyday spaces" of teacher education practice and the rules and regulations which become apparent in the analysis are not limited to the use of these texts alone. The rituals of documentation become a construction that is visible in other texts and the daily lives of individuals. The analysis of *any* university text can yield important information about the historical constructions of teacher education reform and practice.

One long-standing methodology used in the examination of historical documents is to view them as keys to unlocking the thoughts and actions of those who produced them. Using the "objective" linguistic data of the text, historians attempt to reconstruct the inner thoughts and life of the author. The aim of the researcher is to locate meaning within some underlying framework, metaphorical system, or secret decoding process. Text is seen as a purely symbolic artifact of human symbolic activity. It is a written representation of "reality" or statement of experience where "truth" is in the eye of the beholder (Bazerman, 1992). The trouble with this type of examination is that it can result in discursive abstractions where texts mean nothing beyond those of the writer. There is the ever-present chance of developing postmodern rhetoric or textual narcissism (Baker, 1991; Cocks, 1989).

In contrast, this study draws upon the work of Michel Foucault to employ an archaeological investigation where the texts are examined as *artifacts* in the study. Foucault views the statements made in documents as monuments and objects of study in their own right, subject to specific rules of discursive formation (Gutting, 1989). This form of investigation describes discursive formations without temporal relationships (Foucault, 1972). Similar to structuralist methodologies such as linguistics and ethnology, an archaeology of knowledge displaces "man" from his privileged position at the center of thought. Foucault's archaeology of knowledge differs from structuralism, however, in its concern for actual occurrences and their effects instead of their structural possibilities. Instead of looking for long-term continuities and gradual changes, the move away from "man" as the fundamental subjects places a greater emphasis on the sharp ruptures in a procession of ideas. Instead of looking for a succession of thought, an archaeological investigation uncovers discontinuities and breaks in the chronology. This allows for a more careful examination of how a series of events may become an object of discourse that can be recognized, described, clarified and elaborated. For this study, the creation of the PK3 program is examined through the EEA meeting minutes and memos kept during a 10 year span of time.

In my use of Foucault, I have examined the text as a form of socially constructed discourse. By discourse, I mean that the interpretation of the text is viewed as a negotiated

endeavor concerned with the nature of interpretation and the subject matter being interpreted (White, 1978). All discourse takes into account differences of opinion as to its own authority. When applied to textual analysis, these differences of opinion are found between the reader's analysis and the (unknown) meaning set forth by the writer. Not only does the language used indicate various forms of meaning by the way it shifts, recedes, fractures and disperses and defers dialogue, it also represents a singular interpretation of a social event recorded in a particular way (Cherryholmes, 1990). There has been a growing recognition that any statement of experience, oral or written, can be "read" as discursive practice (Klein, 1992). This widened view has linked power and authority to text and placed it in a social space that can be examined and interpreted.

Examining the EEA faculty meeting minutes as discourse presents unique problems as they are constrained by form, objectivity and an emphasis on parliamentary procedure. They are events recorded by one person and represent the viewpoint of one person. When circulated as a fair representation of a historical event, they become more of a rhetorical enterprise centered on persuasion (Brown, 1987; Brown, 1992a; Brown, 1992b). In order to examine these texts as social discourse, I also rely on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of authorized language.

Bourdieu suggests that the power of authorized language lies in the delegated power of the spokesperson (Bourdieu, 1991). In other words, the authority of the university is delegated to the departmental texts because the are a *product* of the institution. The substance of discourse is a guarantee of delegation by the way it represents the authority of the establishment. Its power is limited only to the extent of delegation and the social positioning of the spokesperson. The stylistic features which characterize authorized language — such as routinization, stereotyping and neutralization — all stem from the position the spokesperson occupies in the competitive field of the institution. The structure of the field governs the form of expression and access to the text. Bourdieu uses the term "structural censorship" to signify how the authorized spokesperson is subjected to the norms of official protocol when reporting events. Text is actually the product of a dialectical compromise between the expressive interest of the spokesperson and the structural censorship of the field.

The EEA faculty meeting minutes are generally kept by a department secretary and are reviewed by the EEA chair prior to being sent out to the faculty. Following standard "note taking " techniques, certain events are recorded and others left out. Unless the event can be recorded in "acceptable" form, it will go unstated in the minutes. This represents the authority of the institution and the power of the EEA to regulate the "official" minutes. The minutes are a physical manifestation of the compromise between what was actually said during the meeting and what was recorded by the note-taker. The structural censorship of the institution is visible in what the note-taker writes and what is published and circulated after the meeting. Using Bourdieu's notion of authorized language the texts can be examined how professional ideology influenced the

construction of the PK3 program. This differs from textual narcissism because an emphasis is put on the relationships of the text within the context of the university instead of trying to find "truth" or "reality" in the *correct* reading of the text.

The purpose of this study is to explore the effect of professional ideology on the creation of the PK3 program. The next section will explore two aspects of professionalization related to early childhood teacher education reform. First, specific points concerning the history of early childhood education as an emerging profession will be examined as historic and contemporary issues. Second, the various ways professional ideology can be conceptualized will be outlined to provide a framework for understanding the textual analysis.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AS A UNIQUE JUNCTURE

There are several specific issues related to the professionalization of the early childhood education field that require attention as an aid to understanding the text. In suggesting this, I am not attempting to "write" the history of professional early childhood education nor present an exhaustive review of the literature. Rather, I am including the following sketch as a way to add depth to the textual analysis. This includes the rather unique history of early childhood professionalism and its relationship to science, gender, and psychology during the first half of this century.

Early childhood programs have always been a part of the educational fabric in the U.S. Early programs included infant, dame, primary, or petty schools from colonial rule through the establishment of the first English-language kindergartens in the 1860's (Bloch, 1987; Cremin, 1988; Spodek, Saracho & Peters, 1988). Often described as a history of movements, (the kindergarten movement, the nursery school movement, the day care movement, etc.) the way in which the early childhood education profession emerged continues to impact how teachers approach professionalism in their field today. During the early part of the twentieth century, early childhood education in urban areas was frequently associated with working-class immigrant children. Nursery schools were often sponsored by settlement houses and philanthropic agencies in the belief that middle-class children were lacking specific socio-emotional experiences (Bloch, 1987; Cremin, 1988). As teachers organized their efforts to "help" children in the cities, national organizations were formed to debate methodologies and promote professional agendas (Hewes, 1976).

Science, Welfare and Psychology

One professional "identity" that developed during this time was *scientism*. Heavily influenced by the emerging field of psychology, early childhood certification courses began

training teachers in new "scientific" methodologies. Although the teachers began to think of themselves as professionals, they often had difficulty convincing others of their elevated status. Bloch suggests the following scenario:

> "Kindergarten teaching was more and more frequently provided by certified and trained teachers, and innovations in kindergarten curriculum development began to be discussed by 'experts'. Those working in programs concerned with the care of young children, and particularly the leaders in the field, wanted to be and, in many cases, were beginning to be considered 'professionals.' Yet, while the burgeoning group of people identifying themselves with the kindergarten and 'early education' were convinced of the importance of education for the young, they were still trying to convince others that this was a critical and professional field of endeavor" (Bloch, 1987, p. 41-2)

To further their efforts toward professionalization, early childhood teachers began increasing their affiliation with scientific ideas about children, child study research techniques and university-based research programs. Child development "professionals" aligned themselves heavily with scientific methodologies in an effort to appear to be more deserving of professional status. This affiliation continues to color notions of professionalization within the field of early childhood education today (Bloch, 1992).

A second professional identity that emerged in early childhood education during the first half of this century was *welfarism* based upon gender. Unlike elementary and secondary teachers, early childhood teachers have historically identified with the need to protect children by elevating motherhood, housekeeping, child rearing, and child nurture to a specialized moral status (Finkelstein, 1988). In America, women were seen as agents of moral and cultural nurture, as child advocates, and custodians of the young. These notions were backed by popular early childhood theorists of the time such as F. W. Fröbel who expressed the special gift women had to teach young children as a "educational calling." Early childhood educators popularized the ideas of educators like Hall and Thorndike, to provide scientific authorization for women as natural guardians of the young (Bloch, 1987; Finkelstein, 1988; Tallberg Broman, 1993). As with their elementary education counterparts, the professionalization of kindergarten teaching marked the emergence of a "women's profession." It was by teaching and advocating for early childhood programs and welfare that women first began to be seen as "professional" workers. Although it appears sexist by today's standards to underscore the "educational calling" of women, the continued emphasis on nurture, care and child advocacy — long associated with women's work — still dominates debates about the professionalization of early childhood education.

These "twin" professional identities, welfarism and scientism, are often expressed through the language of psychology in early childhood education. On one hand early childhood professionals identify with the science of early childhood education and the application of psychologically-derived child development practices. On the other, their historical commitment to

child welfare often indicates a profession based on maternal nurturing (Finkelstein, 1988; Seifert, 1988; Silin, 1988).

Both of these identities are visible through the use of psychological language in teacher education program texts as well. For instance, the science of teaching early childhood education is visible when psychological terms are used to justify educational practices. An example of this was the increasing dependence on testing in early childhood programs after psychologists popularized intelligence testing in America. It was through psychometrics that psychology first began to establish its claim as the appropriate authority to judge children and administer them in a way that would increase their utility to society (Rose, 1989). Intelligence testing, combined with observations of large numbers of young children deemed both "normal" and "defective" by society's standards, enabled the establishment of norms of behavior. For the first time the child was beginning to be described in psychological terms. Developmental stages, defined by psychologists, became a popular measuring stick against which all young children were measured.

Nurturing and child welfare issues are also often described in psychological terms. As children were measured against statistical norms of behavior, deviance from these norms were often linked to family culture. The family was now judged for its ability to produce "normal" and well-adjusted, psychologically-sound children. Psychologists believed that parents needed help in producing well-adjusted children and advocated familiarizing them with the principles of child development (Napoli, 1981). Accordingly, early childhood educators, acting in a maternal advocacy role, turned their attention to the family and its influence in the young child's life. The values, ideas and norms of psychology were asserted into the family through routines like infant testing and medical check-ups. Books, pamphlets and magazine articles published by early childhood professionals were directed at parents in hopes of educating the family to produce children that were psychologically and developmentally sound (Rose & Miller, 1992). Evidence of this can be seen in early childhood programs which often place specific emphasis on the child's family and community in the curriculum.

Professional Ideology and Expert Authority

Although the reliance on behavioral scientific and gendered traditions of early childhood education provide insights to the profession, links to national reform rhetoric during the construction of the PK3 program are also important. During the time period when the PK3 certification was being discussed by both DPI and the UW-Madison faculty, there was a marked increase in the number of published reports and books critical of teacher education in the United States.[2] Two key aspects of these reports were an ideological belief in professionalism and a reliance on expert authority. By examining how these notions became integral parts of the reform

reports generated during this period, the influence of professionalism during the construction of the PK3 program can be investigated further in the text.

Most of the reform reports published between 1980 and 1991 stated a need to increase the professionalism of teaching. A profession is generally thought to have certain benchmarks that delineate it from other occupations. These include a specialized body of knowledge, juried entry, and a sense of social service.[3] Conventional wisdom in education typically views teachers as professionals or semi-professionals and the idea of what a "professional" is influences how teachers act (Densmore, 1987). This conception of professionalism is often used to justify teachers' relatively high social status and job related privileges. The "cultural appeal" of professionalism is often grounded in notions of upward mobility and it is believed that teachers will receive higher professionals status if they become more like doctors and lawyers, who are assumed to be efficiently serving society (Ginsburg & Newman, 1985; Popkewitz, 1994). Along with inferences of dependability, quality and effectiveness, professionalism is sometimes described as a "state of mind" that must be earned through integrity, commitment, trust and honest hard work (Clamp, 1990). Accordingly, many of the reform reports of the 1980's and early 1990's emphasized a need to provide teachers with more autonomy, privilege and professional status so that teaching could be viewed as a "full-fledged" profession.[4]

Another translation of professional ideology in the reports and articles of this period was the suggested adoption of certification testing and professional board regulated standards for beginning teachers.[5] This form of juried entry to the field was designed to assure "professional" competence through testing. Like medical and legal bar exams, those who could not pass the test would not become teachers. This view of professionalization derives authority from its scientific claims and the assumption that only a few self-governing professionals can exercise trained judgment in their field of expertise (Popkewitz, 1994). The emphasis to "professionalize" teaching through competency testing continues to be especially popular within the publications of early childhood professional organizations such as NAEYC (e.g. Bredekamp, 1992; Bredekamp & Willer, 1993; Willer & Bredekamp, 1993).

In addition to professional ideology, the reports relied heavily on notions of "expert" knowledge or authority. Such a reliance was not unique to this point in time. Throughout history people have claimed that various experts have used their authority to order human life (Rose, 1994). The university's involvement in this reliance can be traced to medieval centers of learning and their social function of extending knowledge, instruction and service to the community through the professional preparation and exportation of professorial expertise (Duryea, 1981). This reliance upon technical expertise can be viewed as a form of trust in technical knowledge. Society places trust in professions whose claim to specialized knowledge is taken for granted. Professionals are believed to hold specialized knowledges that have validity independent of the

practitioners and clients that make use of them (validity determined because of the general aura of respect towards knowledge deemed scientific). Giddens suggests this type of trust is typical of society's faith in abstract systems which disembed social relations from local contexts (Giddens, 1990; Giddens, 1991). In other words, society places trust in professionals because they are known to hold specialized or technical knowledge of some sort. This trust is determined by the relative ignorance of technical knowledges held by the majority of people and a general pragmatic attitude toward abstract systems.

In an attempt to professionalize teaching, the reform reports of the 1980's and early 1990's frequently called for increased recognition of the specialized knowledges held by the teaching profession. One popular "solution" was the use of a pedagogical knowledge base for guiding coursework and teacher competency testing.[6] The knowledge base would consist of pedagogy broken into "chunks" of knowledge taught to beginning teachers. Many of the purveyors of these reports held strong ties with the universities long recognized for their reliance on scientific and technical knowledge(Labaree, 1992a). The idea that all "good" teaching is basically similar and can be broken down into chunks of defined knowledge to be taught concretely exemplifies a social trust in expert knowledge and abstract systems such as those found in research institutions.

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The question to be decided, then, is how to examine the professional influence during the construction of the PK3 program while keeping in mind the various ways it can be expressed and translated (such as through professional ideology and expert authority) and the unique history of early childhood education as a profession. One way to do this would be to look at the proliferation of the professional expertise and its relationship to power in the text (Rose, 1994). This could include: 1) the history of problemizations or the way in which groups become manageable by expertise, 2) the generosity of expertise or how explanatory vocabularies, procedures and techniques are lent to the public, 3) the transformations of the political to non-political or how something that was once politically volatile becomes technically understood and apolitical, and 4) the relationship between subjects that are dominated by and subjected to professional expertise in terms of professional norms and knowledges.[7]

To apply this to the text during the construction of the PK3 program one would look at the ways in which the new early childhood certification program was described as an emergent field of expertise, how the program was described through unique or technical vocabularies, the a priori acceptance of such language as non-political, and the way the new program was described in relationship to existing EEA faculty standards. Using Rose's guiding principles the questions to be asked of the text are: 1) How is the influence of professional ideology upon the construction of the program linked to university prestige and expert knowledge? and 2) How are professional

identities represented in the text in terms of science and welfare? These questions will be explored in the next two sections.

I.How is the influence of professional ideology upon the construction of the program linked to university prestige and expert knowledge?

University Prestige

As discussed above, the influence of professional ideology upon the construction of the PK3 program can be investigated by looking at the various ways in which the program was linked to emergent expertise, depicted through unique or technical vocabularies, and the way the new program was described in relationship to existing standards. For example, in December of 1988 the early childhood area faculty circulated a memo to the rest of the elementary education area faculty describing why they supported the development of a FRCS and SOE joint major at the PK3 level.[8]

> "UW-Madison, as the largest and most prestigious higher educational institution in the state, should be supportive of this pedagogically reasonable (for a change) shift by DPI, despite the fact that the timing is not our own, and develop a cohesive, integrated program to correspond to the new certification level" (Early Childhood Education Area Faculty memo circulated in December, 1988)

What is interesting about this passage is the way the need for a new program is framed in terms of the university's reputation as the "most prestigious higher educational institution in the state." There are several possible interpretations of linking the new PK3 concentration with the "prestige of UW-Madison as visible in the text.

One reading of this statement is that the PK3 program should be a part of the elementary education curriculum at UW-Madison *because* it is the most prestigious institution in Wisconsin. If DPI was earlier certification ranges offered by UW-Madison (the nursery and nursery/kindergarten certification) and replacing them with the PK3 certification, then UW-Madison, as the state's flagship educational institution, should be offering it. UW-Madison's role as Wisconsin's educational leader has a long history. When the Wisconsin State Legislature outlined plans for the university in 1848 a primary purpose of the institution was to become a "central point of union and harmony to the educational interests of the Commonwealth" (Curti & Carstensen, 1949). Nine of the eleven cluster campuses that make up the University of Wisconsin System are former teacher preparation institutions or normal schools. UW-Madison, however, was designed as a university that contained a teacher-training program for high-school teachers. Unlike other institutions, it was not a normal school that "grew into" university status. The faculty

at UW-Madison has historically viewed their program as "different" from other teacher education programs around the state (Prestine, 1992).

This situation is not unique to Wisconsin. Schools of education within large, research-driven campuses often think of themselves as providing scholarly leadership in education — especially when compared to smaller campuses in the area that also offer teacher-training programs (Clifford & Guthrie, 1988). Wanting to continue in the "leadership" role in Wisconsin education could have influenced the early childhood faculty to press for inclusion of a PK3 program in the EEA.

Another interpretation of this statement is that early childhood education was becoming professionally legitimized through certification and recognition by DPI — therefore UW-Madison should recognize this shift in DPI's thinking by offering the new certification program. Stating that DPI's decision was "pedagogically reasonable (for a change)" suggests that DPI was sanctioning a new certification grouping and UW-Madison should recognize and support this "legitimate shift" in thinking by DPI by offering the new certification. The early childhood faculty could have viewed UW-Madison's support of DPI's certification changes as a way to call statewide attention to the importance of early childhood education and show their approval of DPI's decision.

A third interpretation of this statement refers to the historical relationship between the early childhood area and elementary area faculty. By eliminating the nursery/kindergarten and the kindergarten "add-on" certification, the faculty who worked in early childhood education would be effectively eliminated from teacher education programs at UW-Madison. Approximately 5 to 8 faculty members would have to be moved to other positions within DCFS and C&I (G. G. Price, personal communication, April 24, 1996). By asking the elementary area faculty to be supportive of the PK3 certification program, the early childhood faculty were also calling upon their *own* professional expertise within UW-Madison. As faculty in the most prestigious university in Wisconsin, they were taking a "stand" for something they believed was immensely important for the future of their own professional field.

A common denominator for each of these interpretations is the way the prestige accorded the university is linked with the emerging recognition of early childhood education as a "certifiable" program. The reasons for offering a PK3 program were coupled with UW-Madison's prominence in teacher education. As discussed earlier, there is a documented link between professional ideology and prestige. Professional ideology often assumes that with professional status comes recognition and prestige. It is believed that the "true" professions have an aura of distinction. The early childhood teacher, long considered to have low professional standing when compared to teachers of older children, would benefit by an association with the prestige of a large research-driven institution like UW-Madison.

Expert Knowledge

DPI also implied specific notions of professional ideology in its construction of the administrative code that delineated the PK3 certification requirements by the way it linked professional status with social commitments and expertise. The faculty was given various drafts of the rules as they were being created by DPI and were discussed in the monthly EEA meetings. The following section on the professional sequence required for early childhood certification changed very little from its earliest draft to the present day format.[9] It is part of the meeting minutes on several occasions as an attached document:

> PI 4.12 (7) this program shall require the study of professionalism, program and staff development, supervision and evaluation of support staff, advisory groups, community agencies and resources and public services personnel as related to early childhood programs (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 1989, Subchapter V-Professional Education Sequences, 4.12 (7), Draft given to faculty December 5, 1988)

In this section, DPI states that early childhood teachers must be enrolled in a course of study that meets specific "professional education sequence standards." What is intriguing about this particular rule is how "professionalism" is defined through association — a commitment to society and public need and job accountability through supervision and evaluation. The distinctions that are made about professionalism here are key. Students studying early childhood education are to be made aware of the hierarchy in agency work, such as the responsibilities of supervision and evaluation of support staff. A "professional" early childhood teacher should also know how to work with advocacy groups and community agencies to best meet the needs of society.

The ideological construction of professionalism in the PI4 rules text correlates well with two of the three "benchmarks" of professionalism discussed earlier: specialized knowledge and a sense of social service. Recognizing the supervision and evaluation of support staff calls attention to the specialized body of knowledge early childhood "professionals" have. A commitment to social service is alluded to when early childhood professionals are asked to work with advocacy groups and community agencies.

Both of these sections suggest the proliferation of *expertise* in the development of the program(Rose, 1994). In the first example the university is seen as the legitimator and grantor of expertise. The early childhood program, if it were to become part of UW-Madison's education curriculum, would be given status and access to the expert knowledge of the institution. By being part of the university's well-known, established and nationally recognized teacher education program, early childhood education would be given more attention and funding for research projects and broader access to university knowledge and expertise. This also correlates with the role of a school of education within a research university, where the overriding emphasis is on the

production of scholarly publications and procurement of funding, which in turn increases institutional expertise.

In the second example, DPI has outlined what a "professional" early childhood program must consist of if graduates are to be certified. The language used to describe the professional duties of an early childhood educator draws attention to DPI's "expert" knowledge to determine what the program should look like. In this example, DPI provides the expertise determining early childhood professionalism: a commitment to society and public need and job accountability through supervision and evaluation. Instead of the university's expertise, it is DPI's which determines the "professional" early childhood teacher education program.[10]

The proliferation of expertise is linked with both the legitmation of professional knowledge and the production of professionals. The PK3 program as "part of" the university's expertise and knowledge relates the structure of the program to the "expert-advisor" role of the university. In this light, the university is seen as serving society as a whole through the production of "rational" knowledge that is "useful" for the professional teacher. Through categorization and structuring, certain knowledge is legitimized and taught to prospective teachers. Graduates of the program are seen as "holding" this knowledge and are deemed professional. The rational knowledge transmitted by the university is part of a style of scientific discourse associated with empiricism and positivism seen through the interpretive lens of "practicality" (Popkewitz, 1987b). It is not neutral. The university privileges a form of instrumental reasoning that assumes a common framework of experience defined through scientific study. The theories and practices of the university form a method of social management through the professionalization of knowledge.[11]

Professional expertise arises out of a claim to knowledge, neutrality and efficacy and provides various "solutions" to problem of governing society (Hunter, 1990; Rose, 1996). Instead of setting direct government rule, professional expertise acts with authority to set the norms of individual conduct in society. Governmental analysis and decision becomes a product of professional expertise. Professionals are vested with a certain responsibility and power on the basis of their close association with "true" discourses. The production of professional experts plays a role in translating society into an object of government. In the first example, the PK3 program is linked with the university's expertise through association with a prestigious research institution. In the second example, early childhood professional expertise is determined by DPI in the form of knowing how to meet the needs of society through a sense of social service. In this example society is made accessible to government through the state-defined PK3 certification rules.

Besides its association with expertise, professionalism is also defined through *adequate preparation* in a third textual example. In April of 1984 the text documents the faculty as discussing a recently completed departmental review report by DPI. A major recommendation of

the report cited the need to maintain a "professional" early childhood teacher education program to adequately prepare students for their future role as early childhood teachers:[12]

> "The basic professional program for teachers should be shaped by a single overriding purpose; specifically, to prepare teachers for work success in the classroom, school and community. Every course should be scrutinized with respect to its contribution to this end" (April 9, 1984 meeting minutes attachment).

The report went on to suggest that the early childhood program be broadened to include methods courses in teaching art, music, and physical education to preschool/kindergarten-age children. The report equates professionalism with *adequate preparation*. Although the DPI report complemented the department for having a program which emphasized the arts and physical education, it also criticized it because it did not have specific methods courses for early childhood teachers in the teaching of these subjects.

The distinctions that are made in this statement show the relationship between "becoming professional" and "adequate preparation" where *adequate* is defined by the expert knowledge of DPI and the university. This knowledge was to be conveyed in the form of specific methods courses. In other words, to be adequately prepared as an early childhood teacher, students needed to take methods courses specifically tailored to early childhood education. The idea that there could be an overarching theme to early childhood professional education is also suggested in the text. The choice of words "single overriding purpose" adds emphasis to the idea that the program should be centered on learning specific techniques and methods for teaching in the early childhood arena.

Both UW-Madison and DPI are positioned in the text as having expertise related to the professionalization of early childhood education. One way to think of this is to view DPI and UW-Madison as part of an expert "system" that enables one to remove social relationships from the immediacies of context (Giddens, 1990). DPI is positioned as providing "expert knowledge" of the early childhood program through the construction of the PI4 rules document. In so doing they acted as a protector for the consumer (the consumer being both the teacher-to-be and those in the community depending upon the expert knowledge of the certified teacher) by regulating the profession of early childhood teachers. The university is positioned as part of the expert system by using its access to scientific knowledge to interpret and augment the rules set by DPI and by creating a professional program for students to pass through. This expert system of knowledge "splits" time and space because the teacher is disembedded from the local contexts of teaching through codification, rules and descriptions of expert knowledge. Let me explore this further.

The expert system created by the university and DPI that certifies graduates of the early childhood program as "professional," brackets time and space by deploying modes of technical knowledge which have validity *independent* of the practitioners and clients who make use of them. For instance, the expert or technical knowledge of a PK3 professional is outlined in the PI4 rules

designed by DPI. The rules can be thought of as specific content knowledge that must be gained by the prospective teacher in order to be deemed professional. The knowledge is assumed to be a valid measure of early childhood professionalism and all certified PK3 teachers are assumed to be in possession of this knowledge. The expert knowledge is assumed to be constant, unchanging and valid regardless of who is in possession of it. In this way, the knowledge becomes disembedded from the local context of teaching. It doesn't matter who is in possession of the knowledge, when it was learned or how it is applied to the various situations. For parents of children in preschool, it doesn't even matter exactly what constitutes this expert knowledge — it is enough to know that the PK3 teacher is certified by DPI and legitimized by the UW-Madison program. Through certification, the PK3 teacher is deemed a "professional" because they are presumed to possess expert knowledge determined by (the expertise of) DPI and the university.

There is a trust in this system of expertise that constructs the certified, professional, PK3 teacher. This type of trust is a form of confidence that the certified PK3 teacher possesses the expertise needed to teach young children. Trust of this type infers an exclusive quality of 'faith' in society. It is specifically related to absence in time and space, as well as to ignorance. We have no need to trust someone who is constantly in view and whose activities can be directly monitored. High-trust positions, however, are those jobs performed largely outside the presence of management or supervisory staff. Although teachers are supervised and monitored from time to time, daily, consistent monitoring by the principal is largely absent. In reference to the expert system, this type of trust brackets the limited technical knowledge which most people possess about coded information (i.e. certification rules) which routinely affect their lives (Giddens, 1990, p. 4-10). Trust of this sort reconstructs the teacher in terms of the codification rules and adds to the psychological security of individuals and groups. Parents trust that the teacher knows what they are doing because they are assumed to possess expert knowledge which is codified in terms of DPI certification standards.

The Historical Location of Expertise: The influence of professional ideology on the construction of the PK3 program has been investigated within a framework of governmentality. As such, a distinction can be made between the production of professional expertise and the creation of the professional. Professional expertise was examined for the ways in which it constructed knowledge in the university and how the expertise of the state (DPI) was used to determine programmatic content. The construction of the professional PK3 teacher was done through "standard" rules and codes determined by the state. Both of these constructions are linked historically to the governing of society.

The professionalization of knowledge is situated historically with the advent of specialized communities of professionals which developed after the Civil War (Popkewitz, 1987b). These professionals were given "expert" status to help guide the social reconstruction of society and to

help establish meaning and tradition in America. Expertise of this sort was a type of authority arising out of a claim to knowledge, neutrality and efficiency. The new professional expert helped to provide solutions to the governing of society. Over the second half of the nineteenth century "truths" produced and disseminated by the positive sciences of economics, statistics, sociology, medicine, biology, psychiatry and psychology helped to mediate the governing struggle between the "needs of morality and order" and the "needs of liberty and economy" (Rose, 1996). The deployment of a new range of scientific and technical knowledges allowed the possibility of exercising social rule over time and space. Government analysis and decisions were now based on particular kinds of procedural and statistical expertise, generated by the "expert" professional. The scientist, the engineer, the civil servant and the bureaucratic became the "expert" who determined the measuring stick of social norm for the needs of governing.

This type of expertise plays a part in translating society into an object of government. The authority of expertise is joined with the formal political apparatus of rule. Through the invention of rules, codes and certification practices the state becomes a center that "governs at a distance"(Barry, Osborne & Rose, 1996; Raab, 1994; Rose, 1996). Society is judged according to social norms set not by the government, but by professionals. Professionals became vested with authority to act as experts in the devices of social rule, and the subject of rule is reconceptualized through a type of moral normativity. These "specific" intellectuals are bestowed with a certain responsibility and power on the basis of their close association with "true" discourses (Simons, 1995). The citizen became a subject of needs, attitudes and relationships governed through a nexus of cohesion and dependencies (Rose, 1996). The PK3 teacher, with their new professional status, would be given the authority to determine normalcy in society.

II. How are professional identities represented in the text in terms of science and welfare?

Early Childhood Science

The "science" of professional early childhood education can be identified in early drafts of PI4 rules given to the faculty. The use of words such as *cognitive*, *social* and *emotional* development indicated a strong propensity towards the science of psychology in defining early childhood professionalism. In December of 1988 the faculty was given a draft of the new rules that stated in part:

> "PI 4.12 (2) The program shall require study of the characteristics of play and its contribution to the cognitive, social, and emotional development and learning of children birth through age 8" (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 1992, Draft given to faculty December 5, 1988).

In this rule, the "profession" of early childhood education is clearly linked with the "science" of psychology. Child development, as a method of organizing the curriculum of early learning, is unquestioned in the text.

As mentioned earlier, the historical influence of psychology on early childhood education has been particularly strong. Psychological criteria became the basis for scientific decision making in early childhood education during the first half of the twentieth century. The use of the words *cognitive*, *social*, and *emotional* in the early drafts of PI4 rules exemplify this link. Theoretical discussions about curricular goals in early childhood education are often predicated upon distinctions made within the psychological as opposed to the social, political or economic realm (Silin, 1988). Another example from an earlier draft of PI4 rules given to the faculty in the fall of 1986, shows an even stronger emphasis on psychology as child development and child study:

> "PI 4.12 (1) The program shall require study of the principles and theories of child growth and development including a background in biological, cognitive, psychomotor, emotional, and social development and their relationship to learning.
>
> PI 4.12 (2) The program shall require study and experience in methods of child study" (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 1989, Draft given to faculty in the fall of 1986).

In both versions of PI4 rules, the historical influences of psychology can be seen by reference to child study and developmental psychology. Although there are acute distinctions between child study and child development, what is important to this examination is that both forms of study aimed to make the early childhood field more "professional" by emphasizing the science of psychology. In both sections there is an overarching emphasis on developmental aspects of learning through psychological categories (biological, cognitive, psychomotor, emotional, social) and through developmental research techniques (child study and child development theory).

Historical location of psychology: The use of psychological language has long been associated with education, particularly from the discipline of cognitive psychology. The school was a natural target for psychologists trying to "discover" internal mental processes, such as creativity, perception, thinking, problem solving, memory, and language (Rose, 1989). Educational usage of words such as "cognitive," "social," and "emotional" became commonplace in teacher lesson-plans and helped in the diagnosis of children who needed special attention. Teachers of young children in particular were encouraged to incorporate all aspects of mental ability into their lessons to ensure the well-balanced and integrated maturation of the child.

The emergence of the child study movement encouraged teachers and researchers to observe children to shed light upon human evolution and the characteristics distinguishing "man" from animals. Made popular largely through the efforts of psychologist G. Stanley Hall, the child study movement encouraged teachers to build curricula based upon observation (Bloch, 1987; Rose, 1989). Throughout the 1920's child study centers sprang up in universities across the

country as a way to "make scientific" the education of young children. However, psychologists of the time, while acknowledging the contributions child study made, contested the belief that observation equated a "science" of maturation. By the early 1940's the normative studies of Arnold Gesell at Yale launched the beginning of a more "scientific" child development approach. It is Gesell who is credited with popularizing the notion that children pass through sequential, unfolding developmental stages (Braun & Edwards, 1972; Brennan, 1986; Cremin, 1988; Robinson & Hom, 1977).

What is important to recognize about these distinctions is that the EEA faculty does not question the use of psychology in the minutes to determine course content in the early childhood program as defined in the PI4 rules document from the earliest drafts onward. Child study and child development are given as "scientific" methodologies to gain knowledge about the proper teaching of children. This emphasis on science and scientific methodology can be viewed historically, as part of the effort to professionalize the field.

Child Welfare

It is also interesting that it is only in the PK3 program rules that *play* is mentioned (rule PI 4.12 (2)). Although other certification programs list the importance of child growth and development as well as physiological aspects of education, none list play specifically. An emphasis on play is also mentioned in the University's expectations for the nursery/kindergarten teacher, as cited by the 1984 DPI program review:

> "The institutional goal statements report expectations for the teacher of nursery/kindergarten children to be skilled in 'setting up wholesome environments which include ample opportunities for play activities, music, dance, drama, art, and other means of self-expression and physical activity" (April 9, 1984 meeting minutes attachments).

Historical location of play: An historical interpretation of this emphasis links the emergence of early childhood education in America with the importance of play; seen as lacking in the homes of poor inner-city children. As nursery schools and kindergartens began to assume greater responsibilities for the "mental hygiene" of children in their care, the idea of "constructive play" became an important part of their curriculum (Bloch, 1987).[13] The importance of play in the early childhood curriculum also points to the influence of Fröbel and his belief that a child could be educated through play. Fröbel was among the first to link the play of the child with practical procedures and devices to achieve moral development.[14] Fröbel also placed emphasized the importance of having a female instructor for young children. He stressed the importance of the mother's role in preserving the inborn goodness of the child by creating a nurturing and home-like atmosphere in the classroom (Cremin, 1988). According to Fröbel, women were uniquely suited to create a classroom atmosphere that would encourage systematic play where children could learn

in a natural way. This bias was probably due to Fröbel's contact with the philosophy of Rousseau and the methods of Pestalozzi (Richards, 1992). The importance of play and providing a nurturing environment is also linked to the child study movement in early childhood education history. By applying Darwinian principles of evolution to the study of childhood, G. Stanley Hall cultivated a view of child growth and development that affirmed Fröbelian beliefs in play in the early childhood classroom (Bloch, 1987).

The early drafts of PI4 rules also hinted at the welfare aspect of early childhood professional education through its emphasis on parental involvement and education:

> "(6) The program shall require the study of and experiences designed to develop skills in promoting parent education and family involvement in the early childhood level program" (PI 4.12, specific rules, draft of December, 1988 given to faculty).

As discussed earlier, nurturing and child welfare issues were an integral part of the first early childhood programs in America. The role of early childhood teacher as "parent educator" began in the first half of this century as psychologists began to apply their trade to avoid maladjusted children in society. Psychologists believed that parents needed help in raising well-adjusted children because of rapid and profound changes in society (Napoli, 1981). Early childhood teachers, already pulled by the identity of "nurturing social mother," began to adopt the idea that they, too, had a role in producing well-adjusted children. Prior to the creation of the PI4 rules, the nursery/kindergarten certification program also emphasized the importance of family and the home. In the 1984 DPI program review highlighted this aspect:

> "The unique institutional structure of this program provides students with the opportunity to gain information, attitudes, and skills necessary to synthesize the resources of both home and school environments as they influence the development of the very young child" (April 9, 1984 meeting minutes attachments).

The PI4 rules document outlines the role of the early childhood teacher as parent educator. None of the other certification programs outlined by DPI, neither drafts of PI4 rules nor early certification programs, required this role as part of the professional program for the training of teachers. It is found only in the PK3 and earlier nursery/kindergarten programs.

Both the "science" of early childhood education and its emphasis on child welfare can be contextualized as part of the way society is governed through the lens of professional knowledge. The use of psychology and psychological descriptions of children provide the means for the subjectification of the human soul. They enable "human powers" to be transformed into material that can provide the basis for calculation (Rose, 1989). By slicing human learning into cognitive, social, emotional, psychomotor and biological development, techniques of examination are imposed upon the subject in question. The examining mechanisms of the psychological sciences provide a technique for rendering subjectivity into thought as a calculable force. The application of

normalizing judgment makes the human subject visible and transcribes attributes into codified forms of documentation. The "soul" becomes thinkable in terms of psychology.

The use of psychological categories in descriptions of the PK3 program ensures certain techniques of organization will take place. Relations of hierarchy in human development epitomized in the use of child study and child development theories, locates humans in space and time in order to achieve certain outcomes. The teaching of young children is to direct their conduct to meet certain predefined results. Using the principles of psychology, technologies of subjectivity are established that enable strategies of power to infiltrate the fissures of the human soul (Rose, 1989, p. 8).

The development and academic application of psychology also enables new forms of expertise in the "professional" social sciences. Armed with a "norm" of social behavior, the population can be scrutinized for deviance by the new professional. This socio-political approach emphasizes the welfare of the child in terms of a populational norm. Early childhood educators can examine children for their "normalcy" and act accordingly. Instruction in the synthesization of "home and school resources as they influence the development of the young child" ensures that the PK3 teacher will know how to use all available resources to protect the welfare of the child. The emphasis on parent education will also help to transmit psychological norms and pedagogic techniques into the home to ensure the best possible (maximum) development of the child. The new techniques help the private family to become a site where the production of a "normal" child takes form. The family uses the professional expertise of the PK3 teacher to examine and regulate their own behavior and apply specific techniques produce a "normal" child.

The promotion of subjectivities relating the duties of parenthood with the production of "normal" children enables a mechanism of social control. By internalizing the psychological descriptions of normalcy, families become intensively governed. The technologies of family establish a way of viewing children psychologically in an effort to produce well-adjusted children. It is through the promotion of such subjectivities that the population at large is governed.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this paper was to explore the effect of "professionalization" discourse on the creation of an early childhood teacher certification program at a large research-oriented teacher education institution undergoing the "reform process." A somewhat "classic" definition of professionalism was utilized for the analysis which assumed a specialized body of knowledge, juried entry to the field and a sense of social service. After examining the rather unique history of early childhood education as an emergent profession, two questions were pinpointed: 1) How is the influence of professional ideology upon the construction of the program linked to university

prestige and expert knowledge? and 2) How are professional identities represented in the text in terms of science and welfare?

To help answer these questions, I examined the text for examples of how the new program was characterized as an emergent field of expertise, the technical and psychological descriptions of the program, the a priori assumptions of such language as being non-political and ahistorical, and the ways in which the new program was placed in relationship to existing EEA standards.

It became clear that notions of professionalism did, in fact, influence the construction of the PK3 program in several ways. First, the influence of professional ideology and expertise was visible in the text. The prestige accorded UW-Madison was linked with the emerging recognition of early childhood education as a "certifiable" program. The reasons for offering a PK3 program were coupled with UW-Madison's historical prominence in teacher education. This highlighted the documented bond between professional ideology and prestige. Both the university and the state were positioned in the text as generating legitimate knowledges that attempted to guarantee a professional program by providing access to scientific knowledge during the program's creation. Professionalism was defined through a commitment to society and public need and job accountability through supervision and evaluation. This correlated with two of the three "benchmarks" of professionalism: specialized knowledge and a sense of social service. The expertise of the early childhood teacher was defined both by UW-Madison and DPI. Adequate preparation was used to determine and set parameters for the expert knowledge of each entity.

Both UW-Madison and DPI were positioned in the text as having specific expertise related to the professionalism of early childhood education. This can be viewed as an "expert system" which enables one to remove the social relationships from the immediacies of context. The university is positioned to use its expertise to interpret and augment state-defined rules and create a program for the students to pass through. This jointly-created expert system splits time and space by deploying modes of technical knowledge which have validity independent of the practitioners and clients who make use of it. The technical or scientific knowledge of the certified "professional" early childhood teacher is disembedded form the local contexts of teaching through codification, rules and descriptions of expert knowledge.

Second, a reliance on science and welfare was identified in early drafts of PI4 given to faculty, particularly through the use of psychological and developmental language. This can be viewed historically as part of the effort to professionalize the field of early childhood education. The faculty did not question this language to determine course content in the text. This correlates with the acceptance of such language as being ahistorical and nonjudgemental. Instruction in the importance of play was specifically mentioned as part of the early childhood teacher education program. This emphasis can be read as another historical link in early childhood professionalism which emphasizes child welfarism and family involvement.

The use of a social epistemology of educational reform guided the examination of historical constructions that governed the creation of the PK3 program. These included this historical influences of university prestige, expertise, psychology, and play. Seemingly apolitical, each of these constructions works to solidify part of an apparatus of power that shapes and manages individuals and populations by formulating the terms of "normality" and "expertise." Unlike more traditional forms of governing, this type of management governs people under the auspices of being more "professional.

For instance, both the university and DPI were seen in the text as having the expertise needed to determine how the PK3 program would be put together. Although "expertise" is generally interpreted as politically neutral (especially the autonomous university expertise) it is, nevertheless, part of the apparatus of rule. This occurs because of the truth claims of the experts determine norms of behavior to which individual members of the population are compared. Students in the PK3 program are taught how to determine "normal" child development and "normal" intellectual abilities in children. As future experts in their field, they are able to use their knowledge as a measuring stick and hold it up against their young charges to determine which need "correction" to become more "normal." This use of expertise forms a way to govern the population without the direct (i.e. visible) influence of the state.

Visualizing the construction of the PK3 program in terms of an expert system clarifies the ways in which the "professional" teacher becomes disembedded from the local contexts of teaching through codification, rules and descriptions of expert knowledge. These rules and codes, such as the PI4 rules document that outlined the PK3 program, are seen as "valid" without regard for who is using them and how. It is both a trust in this system of expertise and the historical contexts from which this trust arose that has helped to create a "professional" PK3 teacher education program. This sort of trust reconstructs the teacher in terms of codification and rules and adds to the psychological security of society. There is a confidence that the professional PK3 teacher possesses the expertise needed to teach young children. I believe it is important to examine this trust and the codes and rules that define teacher education programs form a social-historical perspective. the decisions about what is "valid" knowledge in teacher education — or what a teacher needs to know to teach — needs careful consideration.

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NOTES

[1] Some of these arguments include the work of Gaston Bachelard, Georges Canguilem, Louis Althusser and Jaques Derrida. Each theorist reinforced their own conceptions of the writing and study of history to produce meaning (see e.g. Bachelard, 1984; Baltas, 1989; Delaporte, 1994; Giroux, 1991; Gottdiener, 1995; Kurzweil, 1980; Tiles, 1987; Young, 1990)

[2] Some of the general teacher education reform reports included: *The Reform of Teacher Education for the 21st Century: Project 30 Year One Report* (Murray & Fallon, 1989), The Holmes Group Reports (Holmes Group, 1986; Holmes Group, 1990; Holmes Group, 1991a; Holmes Group, 1991b; Holmes Group Forum, 1991), *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Education Reform* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), *A Call for Change in Teacher Education* (National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education, 1985), *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century* (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986), *Staffing the Nation's Schools: A National Emergency* (Sanders, Benton, Kaagan, Simons & Teague, 1984), and John Goodlad's books: *A Place Called School* and *Teachers for our Nation's Schools* (Goodlad, 1984; Goodlad, 1991). Reports critical of early childhood teacher education included: *Childhood Education's Guidelines for Teacher Preparation* (Association of Childhood Educational International, 1983), *Early Childhood Teacher Education Guidelines* (National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1982).

[3] The literature on professionalism generally acknowledges these traits although some researchers argue for a more inclusive definition (e.g. Ade, 1982; Argyris & Schön, 1978; Katz, 1984; Mayhew, 1971; Morgan, 1994; Schön, 1983; Siegrist, 1994; Veale, 1991).

[4] It is important to recognize that during this same period the negative aspects of professionalism, such as fostering elitism and inequality, were also argued in the press. However, even those who spoke out against professionalization often believed that any movement toward "professional" status was better than no movement at all (Labaree, 1992b).

[5] Reports supporting the adoption of entrance or exit testing for preservice teachers included *A Call for Change in Teacher Education* (National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education, 1985); *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century* (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986); *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983); The Holmes Group Reports (Holmes Group, 1986; Holmes Group, 1990; Holmes Group, 1991a; Holmes Group, 1991b; Holmes Group Forum, 1991). Significant discussion of the issues surrounding teacher testing can be found in the books *Testing for Teacher Certification* (Gorth & Chernoff, 1985) and *Crisis in Teaching: Perspectives on Current Reforms* (Weis, Altbach, Kelly, Petrie & Slaughter, 1989)

[6] Reports indicating the construction of a pedagogical knowledge base include: *Restructuring the Education of Teachers* (Association of Teacher Educators, 1991); *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983); *Standards, Procedures and Policies for the Accreditation of Professional Education Units* (National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education, 1987); *the Reform of Teacher Education for the 21st Century: Project 30 Year One Report* (Murray & Fallon, 1989). Significant discussion and support of this idea can be found in the earlier work of Lee Shulman, John Goodlad, and Linda Darling-Hammond (Darling-Hammond, 1986, Fall; Darling-Hammond, 1987; Darling-Hammond, 1988; Darling-Hammond & Berry, 1988; Goodlad, 1991; Meek, 1988; Shulman, 1987; Shulman, 1988)

[7] This methodology is drawn heavily from Nikolas Rose (Rose, 1994; Rose, 1996).

[8] At this point the faculty believed they needed to create a new major instead of a concentration for the PK3 certification program.

[9] The final version of PI 4.12 (7) has slightly more emphasis on the management of early childhood programs. It reads: "The program shall require study of the administration and organization of early childhood level programs; program and staff development, supervision, and evaluation; financial management; accreditation and licensing; relationships with parents, advisory groups and community agencies; and the use of community resources" (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 1992).

[10] The "split" over who's expertise would be used to determine the scope of the PK3 program correlates with the historical struggle for control over teacher education in Wisconsin as discussed by Prestine. Both DPI and the UW-Madison faculty felt it was their "right" to determine course and programmatic content the teacher education program (see, e.g. Prestine, 1988; Prestine, 1991; Prestine, 1992)

[11] See, e.g. (Barrow, 1990; Franklin, 1986; Ginsburg & Lindsay, 1995; Popkewitz, 1987a; Popkewitz, 1987b; Popkewitz, 1991; Popkewitz, 1995; Wittrock & Elzinga, 1985)

[12] This was before the discussion began on the PK3 program. The early childhood program DPI was critiquing in this quote referred to the nursery/kindergarten (NK) program in place at this time.

[13] Here, Bloch cites Elizabeth Peabody who suggested that play was the critical element missing from earlier pedagogy and from the home environments of poor children (Bloch, 1987, p. 36)

[14] Rose (1989, p. 283) cites Fröbel's *The Education of Man*, New York: Appleton, 1906 (original work published in 1826).

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